1:Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1954 FR5 Ngoni FR5
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chiefs and district headmen, were in undifferentiated charge of people. With the formal introduction of Native Courts came provision for the systematic review of judicial decisions by the Administration. To do this some kind of written record was necessary. Many chiefs could not write and court clerks had to be appointed. At the same time the posts of councillor and assessor were created, the former to assist the chief in his executive and legislative capacity as a Native Authority, the latter to help him in his judicial capacity and to constitute with him the Native Court. Messengers[19] were employed to preserve order in court, serve summonses, make arrests and restrain the violent. Under the Ordinances, the Native Authority has power to make rules and orders on a variety of subjects, subject to confirmation by the Administration. The Native Courts are competent to enforce these rules and orders, as well as to administer 'tribal law' and certain items of Administrative legislation delegated to them. They can impose fines or sentences of imprisonment or whipping. In civil cases they can award damages, and charge a hearing fee, but the Ngoni do not distinguish between the fee and a fine.

In 1938 an Ngoni Native Treasury was established and a treasury clerk appointed to run it. After a few years the Administration transferred a larger share of general revenue to the Native Treasury and increased the activities for which the Native Authority was responsible. At one time much of the finance of the Ngoni Native Authority School, opened in 1938, was handled by the Native Treasury, though this was largely a matter of book-keeping. The Native Authority assumed responsibility for the construction and maintenance of roads through the reserves, the care of wells and dams constructed by the Administration, and the provision of messengers to act as police at the lorry-checking points on the main roads. More recently it has become responsible for ghee production, for a demonstration farm and for a nursery of fruit trees. It has had to arrange finance for new school buildings and county granaries and to build these by direct labour. To handle the money for these enterprises there has been a treasury clerk and, recently, an assistant who also helps with the collection of Native tax. The Native Treasury acts as accountant for all these activities but the extent to which the Administration, in one guise or another, directs their carrying out varies considerably.

The revenue for the Treasury is derived from a share in the Native tax, from the sale of licences for dogs, bicycles, arms,

[19] Usually known by the vernacular term *kapasu* in distinction to the district messengers employed directly by the Administration.

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

645 He was a student of Ngoni history and custom, and used his travels as treasurer to collect new information. He always intended to write a history of the central kingdom as Cibambo had done for the northern kingdom, but his public duties never gave him time.

643 645 574 In making contact with his people and keeping in touch with his officials the Paramount did not rely only on their visits to the royal village. Two or three times a year he toured his kingdom, accompanied by his *mlomo wenkosi* and the treasurer, and stayed at the head villages of the chiefs and also of other *alumuzana*. The treasurer spoke enthusiastically of the Paramount's habit of making himself known to his people and enabling them to present petitions to him in person. He met village headmen on their own ground, and *alumuzana* who were unostentatiously directing the affairs of their villages and areas, as well as the official chiefs or Subordinate Native Authorities. He saw for himself how his own regulations were being carried out and how the measures for agricultural improvement and cattle-dipping which the Government was promoting were being adopted. These visits in his own territory were followed by visits to Blantyre and Zomba and to the mining centres outside the country where his people were working. He was thus able to check on the conditions in the subordinate chiefs' areas which had been created by the prolonged absence of men from the villages.

The Paramount and changes in law and custom

643 178 Through his school education at Blantyre, his membership of a Christian church, and through attending the chiefs' course at the Jeanes School in Zomba, the Paramount stood between the old and the new in the changing conditions in his kingdom. After the 1933 Ordinance one of the changes in administration was that a Native Authority had to budget for income and expenditure in his area. The income for 1935 for this area was £959, made up of a share of the taxes; fifty per cent. of the yearly rental of stores; court fines and fees and beer licences. The expenditure was £832, under items of salaries to the Paramount and subordinate chiefs; salaries for messengers, councillors, clerks and policemen; payment of fourpence per tax to the headmen of the villages so that it was to their advantage to collect the full amount; and a small sum for uniforms, office expenses and such items as cash boxes and handcuffs. This budget for the central Ngoni kingdom was drawn up in consultation with the District Officer by the Paramount and his treasurer. It was a source of great pride to the treasurer that he had, as we have seen, his own key to a safe in the District Office where he put the tax money collected in the area, and drew out sums needed for expenditure in the Paramount's office.

652 [434]

744 653 In 1933, as already mentioned, a meeting of subordinate chiefs, *alumuzana* and headmen heard the Paramount's proposals for new regulations about village improvement and agreed to them. These regulations were

2: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1956
FR5 Ngoni FR5

called 'to make a clean village', and were one of the results of the Paramount's visits to his area. They included building latrines, sweeping the open spaces round huts, disposing of rubbish, mending roofs and fences, smooth mudding of houses, digging wells. The Paramount appointed three men who were called *masanitari* to go round the villages to inspect and report to him, and instituted a system of fines for failure to carry out these measures. In addition to promoting clean villages, he ordered that cattle were to be dipped regularly, cultivation was to be carried out by a ridge system instead of mounds, and all sick people, especially women, were to attend hospital. He sent his own daughter to hospital for her confinement, and she attended the baby clinic regularly with her child.

Some of the changes in local customs which the Paramount ordered were not so easy to enforce as the newer practices in relation to health and hygiene. He forbade drinking at night when quarrelling became rife; he prohibited Cewa dances such as *vinyau* and *malombo* and the Cewa female puberty rite of *cinamwali*. The only dances allowed were the Ngoni dance *ngoma*; the *ligubo* or war-dance at his village; and the individual hero's dance (*ligiya*) when a lion or leopard was brought to his village. Marriages had to be registered, and births and deaths recorded and reported to the Paramount when he visited the villages.

It was always possible to start an argument among the senior men sitting on the Paramount's *bwalo*, or on the steps of his court-house, either on the subject of how far Ngoni law and custom had replaced local Ntumba and Cewa custom, or on the advantages and disadvantages of the modern reforms of the Paramount. Some of the older men were anxious to establish that the Ngoni, meaning those of the trans-Zambesi clans, had not only achieved a political conquest but had also changed the practices of the local peoples and made them observe Ngoni customs. They used to assert, among other things, that the local people had become patrilineal, and had adopted a *lobola* form of marriage—statements which could easily be disproved and were laughed at by the onlookers. On the other hand, they were right when they said that Ngoni laws and court procedure were universally approved and followed, and that the younger generations at least were willing to carry out the welfare measures of the Paramount. One constant feature of all such discussions of recent changes was the steady support given by the Ntumba and Tengo clan leaders to the Paramount and his rule. This, more than any other feature, proved that the trans-Zambesi pattern of political rule had triumphed, and that in their loyalty to the Paramount and their practice of Ngoni custom the village headmen and their families could be counted on to support the rulers.

5: Allan C-5 (1941)1949 FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni
Lamba FQ8
Maravi FR4

surveys. In an astonishing number of cases these sites were in completely waterless country and what were stated to have been permanent streams, pools and springs had dried up. The fierce late fires which swept through the empty country each year may have been a major cause of the dessication.

§ 4. *Roads and Watering Points*

After survey had been completed and before movement into an area started, roads (generally earth tracks twelve feet wide) were constructed. These were essential in order to facilitate movements of people and their food-stocks and goods, to enable subsequent supervision and to allow of the construction of watering-points. The preliminary surveys and the maps constructed from them were invaluable in planning the road systems in relation to topography and soils, so that they would be passable throughout the year.

Wherever necessary plans were prepared in advance, also on the basis of the preliminary surveys, to provide sufficient water for the number of people to be moved into each area, and the work of constructing water points was undertaken by the Water Development Department. Water was usually provided by means of dug wells (25 to 100 feet in depth), occasionally supplemented by bore-holes, but in some areas wells were unsuccessful and earth dams were constructed. In one locality, the Mushiri resettlement area of Ndola, a particularly favourable site was used to make a large central dam which was stocked with bream (*Tilapia spp.*) in the hope of producing a fish supply for the surrounding villages. A large scale water programme was undertaken, and is still in progress, in the Eastern Province and a minor programme of some thirty wells has been completed in Ndola District where natural supplies are very much better.

§ 5. *Game and Tsetse Control*

Another difficulty was the occurance of destructive game in unoccupied country. Villages commonly objected to movement on the grounds that elephant and wild pigs would destroy the crops, an objection which often contained a good deal of substance.

Reduction of destructive game was carried out, as far as ammunition supplies and trained African staff would allow, by the Department of Game and Tsetse Control.

In the northern part of Fort Jameson Districts, where a few cases of sleeping sickness appeared among villages moved into a 'fly' area, a campaign of game elimination was undertaken by the Department in conjunction with the clearing of 'hard pan' (pockets of *Albizzia Harveyi* on compacting pedocal soils, generally near watercourses). These measures appear to be giving very satisfactory and rapid results and the fly has been much reduced or eliminated in areas where it was formerly abundant.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

the edge of gardens, and some people spend most of their time there, returning to the village only to fetch food. Beer parties are held in the gardens, and the villages, particularly in the middle of the week, are largely deserted during the day. One or two boys or old men may stay behind to look after the cattle. Streams are in spate at this time of year, and some men build garden byres to which they move their cattle to avoid the risk of the animals or their herdboys being taken by the water.

This life in the gardens is important from the point of view of inter-village action in that it provides an opportunity for new residential groups to form, albeit temporarily. People without garden shelters of their own may share the shelter of a neighbouring gardener, who may be from another village. People may site their gardens so that they are adjacent to those of kindred from other villages, with whom they will be united for this period of garden residence. Thus, for example, a woman who lives in her husband's village has a widowed mother still living in *her* dead husband's village a mile away. The gardens of the mother and daughter are adjacent, and they both possess garden huts which are built alongside one another. They co-operate in much of the work of their gardens.

With the completion of the harvest, the need for living in the garden ceases, but some people delay their return to the village for a month or so. The explanation given is that immediately after the end of the rains and the harvest, there is much activity by the Administration and the Native Authority in organizing public works, and that by staying on in the gardens people hope to avoid becoming involved in these projects.

Cattle-keeping

The circular village cattle byre, with the dwelling huts built round it in a great circle, as occurs among the South-Eastern Bantu and as reported by Elmslie[1] from Mombera's Ngoni of Nyasaland, is not found at the present time among the Fort Jameson Ngoni. Most villages now have two or three separate cattle byres, and they are placed on the periphery of the village area. They consist of fenced enclosures open to the weather, with a single entrance blocked with poles, and may be up to 20 yards across. Calves are kept in smaller enclosures or in deserted dwelling huts whose owners have gone away or are dead. Where there are well-defined clusters of huts within a village, each cluster may have its own byre, but this is not always the case. Cattle

[1] Elmslie, p. 37.

10: Barnes E-5 (1946-1949) 1959
FR5 Ngoni FR5
Mpezeni

near their farms, who go home every afternoon after work and come back the next morning. Others employ women and children, and most boys work intermittently on the farms to earn enough to keep themselves in clothes until they are old enough to go away to Southern Rhodesia. Other boys work in their holidays from school.

To some extent people from the same village tend to go to work together in groups on a farm. This is particularly true in the case of the short-term labourers who sleep at home, since the choice of farm is restricted to those in the immediate vicinity of the village. Here sometimes the majority of the inhabitants of a village will turn out under the leadership of the headman of the village and work for three or four days on the same farm. Longer-term labourers may be attracted to a farm by the presence of a foreman from their own village.

Girls also go to work on their own, and many marriages are made as a result of encounters on the farms. Marriages made in this way are not always recognized by the parents of the girl until the man has brought her back to her village and formally approached her parents.

The villages near the farms, and to a lesser extent those near the township, sell beer to the labourers, while the farms themselves buy up most of the maize and other cereals that villagers have to sell.

The continual demand for labour on the farms leads to their serving as a sanctuary for fugitives from social pressure of one kind or another. For example, a native policeman was going round the villages obtaining labour for the Administration for essential public works. He adopted the normal practice of imposing a quota of labourers to be supplied upon each village and made the headman responsible for seeing that his village quota was met. If the headman did not do this, he enlisted the headman as a labourer. At one village the headman told the policeman that his people had all run away to the gardens when they had heard of the arrival of the policeman in the area. The policeman warned the headman that either he must exercise his authority over his people and order them back into the village so that he could enlist them, or else the headman would be enlisted. He came back the next day to see what had happened, and found that the headman had gone off to work on a farm. There is machinery for recovering such people, but it does not work easily or quickly, and by the time a man has been located and brought back, the reason for which he was wanted may have fallen away.

Disputes between Africans on farms can be dealt with at the nearest Native Court, but if the farmer wishes to enforce his rights under the